

Resolved, That Mr. Raskin, Ms. DeGette, Mr. Cicilline, Mr. Castro of Texas, Mr. Swalwell, Mr. Lieu, Ms. Plaskett, Mr. Neguse, and Ms. Dean are appointed managers to conduct the impeachment trial against Donald John Trump, President of the United States, that a message be sent to the Senate to inform the Senate of these appointments, and that the managers so appointed may, in connection with the preparation and the conduct of the trial, exhibit the articles of impeachment to the Senate and take all other actions necessary, which may include the following:

(1) Employing legal, clerical, and other necessary assistants and incurring such other expenses as may be necessary, to be paid from amounts available to the Committee on the Judiciary under applicable expense resolutions or from the applicable accounts of the House of Representatives.

(2) Sending for persons and papers, and filing with the Secretary of the Senate, on the part of the House of Representatives, any pleadings, in conjunction with or subsequent to, the exhibition of the articles of impeachment that the managers consider necessary.

NANCY PELOSI, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

With the permission of the Senate, I will now read the Article of Impeachment, House Resolution 24.

#### HOUSE RESOLUTION 24

In the House of Representatives, U.S., January 13, 2021.

Impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Resolved, that Donald John Trump, President of the United States, is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors and that the following article of impeachment be exhibited to the United States Senate:

Article of impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives of the United States of America in the name of itself and of the people of the United States of America, against Donald John Trump, President of the United States of America, in maintenance and support of its impeachment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors.

#### Article I: Incitement of Insurrection

The Constitution provides that the House of Representatives "shall have the sole Power of Impeachment" and that the President "shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors". Further, section 3 of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution prohibits any person who has "engaged in insurrection or rebellion against" the United States from "hold[ing] any office . . . under the United States". In his conduct while President of the United States—and in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Con-

stitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed—Donald John Trump engaged in high Crimes and Misdemeanors by inciting violence against the Government of the United States, in that:

On January 6, 2021, pursuant to the 12th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the House of Representatives, and the Senate met at the United States Capitol for a Joint Session of Congress to count the votes of the Electoral College. In the months preceding the Joint Session, President Trump repeatedly issued false statements asserting that the Presidential election results were the product of widespread fraud and should not be accepted by the American people or certified by State or Federal officials. Shortly before the Joint Session commenced, President Trump, addressed a crowd at the Ellipse in Washington, DC. There, he reiterated false claims that "we won this election, and we won it by a landslide". He also willfully made statements that, in context, encouraged—and foreseeably resulted in—lawless action at the Capitol, such as: "if you don't fight like hell you're not going to have a country anymore". Thus incited by President Trump, members of the crowd he had addressed, in an attempt to, among other objectives, interfere with the Joint Session's solemn constitutional duty to certify the results of the 2020 Presidential election, unlawfully breached and vandalized the Capitol, injured and killed law enforcement personnel, menaced Members of Congress, the Vice President, and Congressional personnel, and engaged in other violent, deadly, destructive, and seditious acts.

President Trump's conduct on January 6, 2021, followed his prior efforts to subvert and obstruct the certification of the results of the 202 Presidential election. Those prior efforts included a phone call on January 2, 2021, during which President Trump urged the secretary of state of Georgia, Brad Raffensperger, to "find" enough votes to overturn the Georgia Presidential election results and threatened Secretary Raffensperger if he failed to do so.

In all this, President Trump gravely endangered the security of the United States and its institutions of Government. He threatened the integrity of the democratic system, interfered with the peaceful transition of power, and imperiled a coequal branch of Government. He thereby betrayed his trust as President, to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore, Donald John Trump, by such conduct, has demonstrated that he will remain a threat to national security, democracy, and the Constitution if allowed to remain in office, and has acted in a manner grossly incompatible with self-governance and the rule of law. Donald John Trump thus warrants impeachment and trial, re-

moval from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.

NANCY PELOSI, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. President, that completes the exhibition of the Article of Impeachment against Donald John Trump, President of the United States. The managers request that the Senate take order for the trial. The managers now request leave to withdraw.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Thank you, Mr. Manager RASKIN. The Senate will duly notify the House of Representatives when it is ready to proceed with the trial.

You may proceed to depart.

The majority leader.

Mr. SCHUMER. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. SMITH). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding Rule III of the Senate Rules of Impeachment, at 2:30 p.m. tomorrow, January 26, 2021, the Senate proceed to the consideration of the Article of Impeachment of Donald John Trump, former President of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### AUTHORIZING THE TAKING OF A PHOTOGRAPH IN THE CHAMBER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 15, submitted earlier today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 15) authorizing the taking of a photograph in the Chamber of the United States Senate.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. SCHUMER. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution (S. Res. 15) was agreed to.

(The resolution is printed in today's RECORD under "Submitted Resolutions.")

## REMEMBERING PAUL SARBANES

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, all of us in this body mourn the recent passing of former Senator Paul Sarbanes. Those of us who served with him have known him as one of the finest and most accomplished Senators with whom we have served. And what a great pleasure it was to work with him, on so many issues.

In addition to his impressive legislative accomplishments, Paul Sarbanes was one of the Senate's keenest interrogators and one of the Senate's finest orators. In the Senate community, most of all we knew him for his wit, for his warmth and kindness, and for his decency.

I would like to call to the Senate's attention an insightful remembrance of Senator Sarbanes by Paul Glastris that was published this month by the Washington Monthly.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Monthly, Jan. 1, 2021]

## REMEMBERING PAUL SARBANES

HOW WIT, INTEGRITY AND EXPERTISE MADE AMERICA'S FIRST GREEK AMERICAN SENATOR A BEHIND-THE-SCENES WASHINGTON POWER PLAYER.

(By Paul Glastris)

There have been many fine tributes to former U.S. Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland, who passed away December 6 at age 87. These encomiums invariably note the near universal high regard he enjoyed in Washington for his intelligence, integrity, humor, and accomplishments—the latter consisting mostly of liberal legislation he managed, via his other attributes, to get Republicans to support. They include, while a young House member, the articles of impeachment against Richard Nixon and, in the Senate, the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002, which toughened regulations and created government oversight of corporate accounting practices after the Enron debacle. He also served on the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee for decades with Joe Biden and was a boss and mentor to a number of the president-elect's senior advisors, including Antony Blinken, his nominee for secretary of state.

But I want to focus on another set of his deeds, ones associated with his role as the leading Greek American in Congress. They begin with what has come to be known as the “Sarbanes Rule.”

The rule dictates that “any Greek American awards dinner should conclude on the same day it begins.” The Senator devised this dictate after patiently sitting through countless such dinners. They would go on interminably due to the fact that the organizers, wanting to acknowledge as many benefactors as possible, would bring to the podium a speaker (usually a wealthy Greek-American businessman) whose job it was to introduce another such speaker, who would then introduce another speaker, who would finally present the award to the person who would then speak, typically at some length (these are Greeks we're talking about).

Since multiple honors were bestowed on any given evening, the result was awards ceremonies that began with cocktails at 6 PM but wouldn't end until well after midnight. At which point the priest would give the benediction, the color guard would march the U.S. and Greek flags out of the

ballroom, the bouzouki band would come out, and everyone would dance for several more hours. Having attended these events regularly in DC from the 1990s until COVID-19, I can attest that after the Senator introduced his rule about a decade ago, the proceedings tightened considerably, with the dancing commencing at a more civilized 10 PM.

It was at one of these dinners that I got to know Sarbanes personally when my late wife Kukula found herself seated next to him. She asked him what kind of cocktail he liked and went to the bar to fetch it. The two of them spent the rest of the evening animatedly chatting about foreign affairs—Kuku, a journalist and the daughter of a diplomat, had strong and informed views on the subject. Our hosts Manny and Marilyn Rouvelas must have noticed, because the next year the place cards showed that Kuku was again seated next to the Senator. When she saw Sarbanes walk into the ballroom, she went to the bar and, remembering his drink of choice (it was one of her superpowers), had it waiting for him when he arrived at the table. He was charmed and delighted; she felt the same about him. For years thereafter the two of them were annual dinner mates. There were far more powerful people in the room than Kuku, but the fact that Sarbanes was content to spend the evening talking with her told me everything I needed to know about his character.

“Unlike many of his contemporary officeholders, Mr. Sarbanes was uncomfortable with the backslapping, glad-handing and grandstanding that often go with public office,” his Washington Post obituary reads. “He avoided the social and party circuit in the nation's capital and rarely spent a night in Washington, preferring instead to drive home to his wife and children in Baltimore.” At these Greek dinners, however, Sarbanes was in his element. While other politicians would drop by (it was a target-rich donor environment), he would stay for hours, chatting with the scores of people who would come to the table to meet him, then eventually excusing himself to work the room, table by table, shaking every hand.

The way he brought order to those dinners with his Sarbanes rule is a small illustration of what made the Senator effective and respected in Washington. Born to Greek immigrant restaurant owners in 1933, Sarbanes earned scholarships and degrees from Princeton, Oxford, and Harvard. He had an intellectual gift for getting to the heart of knotty problems and formulating wise solutions with a wit that put his colleagues at ease. He deployed this genius throughout his career, often in the service of selling unpopular but vitally necessary policies like the return of the Panama Canal. As former Democratic Senate leader Thomas Daschle told the New York Times, when “trying to persuade the caucus to do something difficult, I would use Paul to bring it home, to close the argument.”

In the Greek American community he is most remembered for spearheading—along with another young Greek-American congressman, John Brademas—a 1974 House effort to cut off U.S. arms sales to Turkey after that country invaded and occupied the independent majority-Greek-speaking nation of Cyprus. The Nixon and Ford administrations fiercely opposed the legislation because Turkey, a NATO ally, shared a militarized border with the Soviet Union. But Sarbanes, Brademas, and others in the newly-activated Greek American community countered on not only moral but legal grounds: U.S. statute, they correctly noted, specifically required the administration to cut off arms sales to any country that used such weapons offensively.

Several of the multiple House votes to pass the embargo and then override a presidential veto succeeded by only a one-vote margin, recalls Andy Manatos, then an aide to Senator Tom Eagleton, who was successfully championing similar embargo legislation in the Senate. “It would never have passed in the House without the esteem Paul and John enjoyed,” says Manatos, now the dean of Greek-American lobbyists, adding that Sarbanes and Brademas were two of the three Rhodes Scholars then serving in that body.

The Turkish arms embargo—the first time in modern U.S. history that Congress successfully overturned the White House on a major foreign policy issue—lasted three and a half years before the Carter administration managed to get it repealed. But it was replaced by an agreement in Washington to sell arms to Greece and Turkey on a 7-to-10 basis in order to achieve a military balance in the Aegean, an agreement Sarbanes vigorously defended for years after.

Being seen as a fierce advocate for your own minority ethnic constituency can be risky for any politician seeking higher office. Sarbanes managed to pull it off in 1976 when he became the first Greek American elected to the U.S. Senate (he would be followed by Paul Tsongas and Olympia Snowe). He was hardly a radical on the issue. “I met today with a number of Cypriot foreign ministers” he would joke to friends after rebuffing, say, a group of Greek diner owners demanding he take stronger actions than the Cypriot government itself wanted. But over the subsequent decades, through constant study and engagement with experts on the region, he built a reputation as the man to see on anything regarding the Eastern Mediterranean—from Turkish air threats to Greek territory in the Aegean to the besieged Greek Orthodox patriarchate in Istanbul. Greek prime ministers sought his counsel. So too did U.S. presidents, secretaries of state, and senior diplomats. “In that cerebral way of his, he would analyze the whole situation and explain to people what to do, who to talk to, what to be careful of,” recalls Manatos. “He was hands down far ahead of anyone else in Congress in his thinking about these issues.”

People underestimate, especially in the age of Trump, the degree to which knowledge can be power in Washington. Sarbanes did not. He “studied issues himself rather than rely on staff talking points,” recalls John Sitalides, who worked with the Senator as a GOP staffer on the Senate Banking Committee before starting the Western Policy Center, a security think tank focused on the Eastern Mediterranean. His mastery of substance gave Sarbanes “the freedom to argue and discern based on his own knowledge,” says Sitalides, which in turn earned him the confidence of Senators on both sides of the aisle. That kind of power is typically witnessed only by insiders, though public glimpses of it can sometimes be caught. Nick Larigakis, executive director of the American Hellenic Institute, notes that Sarbanes could be “relied upon to ask the tough and probing questions” on issues important to Greek Americans at confirmation hearings for US ambassadors to the region—an effective way to keep Foggy Bottom on its toes.

If Sarbanes' mind was legendary, so too was his rectitude. He managed a 40-year career in politics—from his first election to the Maryland House of Delegates in 1967 to his retirement from the U.S. Senate in 2007—without a hint of personal scandal. That's no small feat for someone who rose through the often-corrupting culture of Maryland politics (Spiro Agnew, another Greek American politician from Maryland, was not so careful). Sarbanes enjoyed a 48-year marriage to his wife Christine, who passed away in 2009.